## Message Text

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E. O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: CONSULTATIVE PROCESS AND THE "YEAR OF EUROPE"

BEGIN SUMMARY. PERMREPS, AT LUNCH MAY 29, DISCUSSED AT LENGTH THE QUESTION OF EFFECTIVE POLITICAL CONSULTATION AMONG ALLIES AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO DEVELOPING THE KIND OF DECLARATION CALLED FOR BY DR. KISSINGER. IN THE PROCESS, A NUMBER OF IDEAS WERE EXPRESSED WHICH MAY WELL INFLUENCE THE DRAFTING OF THE DECLARATION. END SUMMARY.

1. LUNS, DE STAERCKE AND SPIERENBURG COMMENTED IN A GENERAL VEIN ON THE VALUE FOR THE ALLIES OF THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATION NOT ONLY ON EAST- WEST MATTERS BUT ON WEST- WEST MATTERS AS WELL. ARGUING FOR A BROAD CONCEPT OF CONSULTATION, SPIERENBURG OBSERVED THAT THERE WERE A FEW POLITICAL FIGURES IN HIS NEW GOVERNMENT WHO QUESTIONED THE ROLE OF A SMALLER COUNTRY IN A COLLECTIVE BODY SUCH AS THE ALLIANCE. ONE OF THE STRONGEST ARGUMENTS THAT CAN BE MADE IN RESPONSE IS THAT IN AN ALLIANCE EVEN SMALL COUNTRIES ARE CONSULTED, INFORMED, AND HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO PUT THEIR IDEAS FORWARD AND INFLUENCE EVENTS. CONFIDENTIAL

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2. DE STAERCKE ANALYZED THE PROBLEM IN A BROADER VEIN. HE AGREED THAT IT WAS MOST IMPORTANT FOR A SMALL COUNTRY TO HAVE A SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN THE ALLIANCE. OTHERWISE, THE TEMPTATION IS TO BE PASSIVE AND DRIFT WITH EVENTS. FURTHERMORE, IT IS IMPORTANT TO THE LARGE COUNTRIES OF NATO ( BY THIS, HE

MEANT THE US, UK, FRANCE, AND GERMANY) TO BE REQUIRED TO TALK WITH THE OTHER 11 BECAUSE THIS FORCES LARGER COUNTRIES TO CONSIDER THEIR RELATIONS MORE CAREFULLY AND TO ANTICIPATE AND THUS AVOID PROBLEMS. EQUALLY, IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE 11 TO BE IN CONTACT WITH THE FOUR BECAUSE IT IMPOSES UPON THE 11 A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY.

- 3. DE STAERCKE CONCLUDED THAT AFTER SOME THOUGHT HE FEELS THAT THE FIRST AND MOST SOLEMN PRINCIPLES IN ANY ATLANTIC DECLARATION MIGHT INVOLVE THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION. IT MIGHT POINT OUT THAT FRIENDS ARE TREATED DIFFERENTLY THAN ADVERSARIES AND IT COULD EMBODY THE ELEMENTS OF CONSULTATION DESCRIBED ABOVE. DE STAERCKE SAID THAT HIS STUDY OF KISSINGER'S SPEECH LED HIM TO THE CONVICTION THAT THE ISSUE OF CONSULTATION IS AT ITS HEART. WHAT THE SPEECH SAYS IS THAT THE U. S. HAS BEEN TO PEKING AND TO MOSCOW AND NOW IT IS TIME TO LOOK AT THE RELATIONSHIPS THE U. S. WANTS WITH THE ALLIES-- AND THE KEY TO THIS IS THE QUESTION OF CONSULTATION.
- 4. THERE WERE A NUMBER OF GENERAL COMMENTS BY OTHERS TO THE EFFECT THAT:
- -- IT IS APPRECIATED THAT THERE IS A DOUBLE STANDARD
  OF CONSULTATION, AND ESPECIALLY FOR THE U. S. BUT THIS IS
  INEVITABLE BECAUSE THE RELATIONS OF THE U. S. WITH THE COMMUNISTS
  ARE SO EXTENSIVE AND WHAT THE U. S. SAYS AND DOES IS OF SUCH
  OVERWHELMING IMPORTANCE TO THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIES;
  -- IN CONTRAST, AN ABSENCE OF CONSULTATIONS, AND ANY SEEMING
  TREND TOWARD AN EMPHASIS ON BILATERALISM AMONG THE LARGER ALLIED
  COUNTRIES, IN THE LONGER TERM DEBILITATES THE ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIP-- AND THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP IMPLIED IN KISSINGER'S SPEECH.
- 5. GIVING MY PERSONAL VIEW, I POINTED OUT THAT WHETHER BETWEEN BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT OR BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS THERE IS REALLY NO EXACT RULE ON HOW TO CONSULT. INDEED, THE MORE YOU DO IT, THE MORE OTHERS MAY GROW TO EXPECT, AND CONSULTATION COULD BECOME CONFIDENTIAL

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CONTROL IF A LIMIT IF NOT FOUND. THUS, JUST AS IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE LARGER ALLIED COUNTRIES TO CONSULT IN A REASONABLE, RESPONSIVE WAY, TO MAKE THE ALLIANCE VALUABLE AND USABLE FOR THE SMALLER COUNTRIES, IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT FOR THE SMALLER COUNTRIES NOT TO MAKE THE FRUSTRATIONS OF MULTILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS SO GREAT THAT THE LARGER COUNTRIES THROW UP THEIR HANDS AND FEEL THE BURDEN IS GREATER THAN THE BENEFIT. COMMENT: THE VIEWS OF THE DUTCH AND BELGIAN REPS AT LUNCH WERE NOT DIRECTED AT THE U. S. THEY REFLECT A SENSE OF FRUSTRATION AT THE VERY TOUGH AND NEGATIVE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE FRENCH TOWARDS A NUMBER OF POLITICAL INITIATIVES PUT FORWARD AT THE MEETING OF THE EC'S POLITICAL DIRECTORS LATE LAST WEEK. END COMMENT.

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